1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385).

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous.

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life.

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. Kula, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead.
2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1.
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live.
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins.
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

House 3

10. Kalo, daughter of 1 and sister of 5. Latu, 8, sleeps in Kalo's house.
11. Husband of 10, a Vavau man named Silas.
12. Kitchener, son of 10 and 11.
13. Fine, male maternal parallel cousin of 12, 19 years old. He calls 5 "tuasina"; 5 call him "ilamutu." He moved from house 4 to house 3 on the death of his mother. He calls 10 mother (see 14) and 12 "tehina" (younger male cousin).

House 4

14. John Malafu, father of 13. His daughter in 1920 married and moved away, so he now lives alone. (See 13.) His wife was maternal parallel cousin of 10.

House 5

15. Louise, brother's daughter of 1. Is from Maufanga, Tongatabu; father's name was Solomon. Neither she nor 16 have land on Nukunukumotu.
16. Husband of 15, a Vavau man named Afu. The offspring of 15 and 16 live in Maufanga, Tongatabu.

The mayor of the little island of Fonoifua, Haapai, spoke of the islanders (about 40 in number) as belonging to the "family" Tave. Actually Tave is the name of the tract where the dwellings stand and the inhabitants constitute more than one family in the European sense, there being 11 households, 5 of which are perhaps unrelated to one another or to the other 6. The heads of houses in Fonoifua follow: (In this list the terms chief and matapule probably indicate approximate rank rather than titles.)

1. Simione Havili, the mayor and chief (because his father was from the family of chief Malupo of Uiha.
2. Mesui Taufa, commoner, maternal parallel cousin of 1.
3. David Tautuaa, matapule, maternal parallel cousin of 1.
4. Asui Lotulelei, brother of 1.
5. Ueleni Taufa, commoner, maternal cousin of 1. (2, 3, and 5 are brothers, their father Tuulau from family of the chief Maafu of Vaini, Tongatabu, their mother a commoner).
6. William Foliaki, chief, related to chief Malupo of Uiha, sister's son of 1.
7. John Kaisala, matapule, unrelated to 1.
8. John Langi, matapule, unrelated to 1.
9. Benjamin Taufa, matapule, unrelated to 1.
10. Benjamin Tui Pulotu, matapule, paternal parallel cousin of 1.
11. Mauseini, a widow, of matapule rank, unrelated to 1.

The modern village of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai, is composed of people from four earlier settlements in the vicinity of Lotofoa: Failoto (just north of Lotofoa), Faletapu (just south of Lotofoa), Ano (just south of Faletapu), and Felelei which centered at the *malae* in the present Lotofoa. The people derived from each of these four earlier hamlets are spoken of as comprising a *faahinga* or "family," although they are probably not families

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

as was Mariner by Mafihape, Finau's wife (41, vol. 1, p. 84). Thus, in December, 1920, the Queen of Tonga arranged for the adoption of Norman Collocott (the youngest son of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott) by the heir apparent to the throne of Tonga, who assumed the relation of father. The prince was but two years old and Norman four. The Queen bestowed upon Norman the name of Tokeimoana. About the same time a half-caste gentleman named Von Treskow adopted the heir apparent, and in consequence will furnish him henceforth with yams and other produce from his plantations.

From information furnished by Fison, Morgan (45, p. 574) states that a child may be adopted as a grandchild: "It should be noted that if a Tongan's grandchildren proper die out, he takes one of his father's sister's greatgrandchildren, who is then *called* his grandchild."

The present high chief Ata, whose birth name was Solomon Piutau, was adopted by Jane Lafulafu, who was sister of the *toutai* Ula, a distant relative of Ata's father. Ata was removed from his parents' home shortly after his first birthday and given the name Solomon Ula (or more fully Ulamoleka). Jane died while Ata was very small and her daughter Ana brought up Ata. Jane Lafulafu had no sons and Ana was barren. John Mohulamu, Ana's husband, was of matapule rank, but served no chief. Later, Solomon was elevated by the king to the Ata chieftainship, he being the nearest heir to the Ata chief who died.

KINSHIP TERMS

The Tongan system of kinship terms appears to lack true terms of affinity. Kinship terms are extended liberally to collateral relatives, though not to such a great degree as in the Hawaiian system.

In addition to being designated by one of the regular kinship, the status of a relative may be so described. Thus, the paternal grandfather who is designated by the word *kui*, the generic term for grandparent, may be described as *koe tamai a eku tamai* (the father of my father). Or again a man's father's sister's son, who is designated by one of the words for brother, may be described as *koe tama tangata oe tuofefine a eku tamai* (the child male of the sister of my father). By this scheme all relatives more than one step removed from the speaker may be described. Side by side therefore are a "classificatory" method and a "descriptive" method of designating relatives.

Terms of relationship are not used in address, but personal names are so used. Even small children address their parents by their personal names. In this regard the Tongan practice is opposite that of most North American Indians, the English practice being intermediate between these two extremes.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Among the Tongan nobility terms of relationship are used also in a largely fictitious fashion. [601 [565]

Although the Tongan kinship terms have been published by Morgan (45, p. 568) and by Rivers (51, vol. 1, p. 363), their exact use requires further clarification. In this list an asterisk (*) indicates the use of the term elsewhere in the system:

Parent and offspring:

*Tamai. Father. All male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.
*Fae. Mother. All male and female relatives of the mother and in her generation are called mothers.
*Foha. Man's son.
*Ofefine. Man's daughter. Rivers asserts that this term is used by a woman also, but my several informants denied this.
*Tama. Woman's child.

Grandparents and grandchildren:

*Kui. Grandparent. Extended to collateral and great grandparents.
*Mokopuna. Grandchild. Extended to collateral and great grandchildren.

Siblings:

*Taokete. Man's older brother, woman's older sister.
*Tehina. Man's younger brother, woman's younger sister.
*Tokoua. Man's brother, woman's sister.
*Tuongaane. Woman's brother.
*Tuofefine. Man's sister.
*Tautehina. Brothers, sisters.

Uncles and aunts:

*Tamai. Father's brother.
*Fae. Mother's sister; also mother's brother, who is described more exactly as "fae tangata, male mother." More honorably he is designated as
Tuasina. Mother's brother. Mariner (40, vol. 2, vocabulary) defines this term as "a cousin, either male or female: also an uncle."
Mehekitanga. Father's sister.
*Foha. Man's brother's son.
*Ofefine. Man's brother's daughter.
*Tama. Woman's sister's child.
Hamutu. Man's sister's child.
Fakafotu. Woman's brother's child.

Cousins:

*Taokete. Man's parent's older sibling's son, woman's parent's older sibling's daughter.
*Tehina. Man's parent's younger sibling's son, woman's parent's younger sibling's daughter.
*Tuongaane. Woman's parent's sibling's son.
*Tuofefine. Man's parent's sibling's daughter.
*Tokoua. Man's male cousin, woman's female cousin.
*Tautehina. Male cousins, female cousins.

Step-relatives:

Step-relatives are designated by the terms for corresponding blood relations.

Spouses of uncles and aunts:

*Tamai. Aunt's husband. The father's sister's husband is also called tangata eiki, chiefly man, apparently because the same deference must be paid him as is paid the father's sister.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

601

•Fae. Uncle's wife.
•Foha. Wife's sibling's son.
•Ofefine. Wife's sibling's daughter.
•Tama. Husband's sibling's child.
Spouses:
•Unoho. Spouse. This word means also "sexual intercourse" and has been replaced in modern Tongan by *mali* (marry).
•Ohoana. Spouse (literally, partner). This term, too, has yielded to English "marry."
•Hoa. Spouse; literally "a companion," and as a verb "to pair with."
Parents- and children-in-law:
Parents and children by marriage are designated as parents and offspring. Grandparents and grandchildren by marriage are equated to grandparents (•kui) and grandchildren (•mokopuna).
Siblings-in-law:
•Unoho, ohoana, or hoa. Man's brother's wife, wife's sister, woman's sister's husband, husband's brother.
Matapule. Man's sister's husband, husband's sister.
Maa. Woman's brother's wife, wife's brother.

Rivers (51, vol. 1, p. 365) gives matapule for wife's brother, but Morgan (45, p. 576) says that there is no specific term for that relationship. I obtained the term *maa* for wife's brother. The term matapule is one of respect and normally denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. Since sisters rank brothers, a sister's husband must be treated with the same respect as the sister; hence, doubtless, arises the use of the honorary term matapule. With this inequality between the husband of a woman and her brother, I think Rivers is wrong in stating that the term matapule applies to the wife's brother. The use of the honorary term matapule for the husband's sister is also susceptible to the explanation that the husband's sister exceeds the husband in rank and therefore is also addressed by this honorary term. Woman's brother's wife and the wife's brother are inferior to the speaker on account of the superiority of sisters to brothers.

The three-step siblings-in-law (husband's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband, wife's brother's wife, and wife's sister's husband) are all denoted by sibling terms.

Like Morgan and Rivers, I recorded no term for child's parent-in-law. Relatives through the father are grouped as *fanga tamai* or *faahi tangata* (man's side), through the mother as *fanga fae* or *faahi fefine*.

THE LINEAGES

There exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *haa*, a 613
word which the dictionaries and most Tongans render as "tribe, class, family." Tui Vakano, the late premier of Tonga, equated *haa* with the Samoan *sa* (sacred). The high chief Ata said that *haa* is applied to blood

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki*. The *vaociki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure. She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is employed to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in the second person, *hoo*, or the third person, *ae*. "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala*, was worn only by the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The envelope (*loutoume*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which have a sweet mint-like fragrance.

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classification is purely one based upon rank and the rank in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related.

1. **Fahu. Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga.**
2. **Kainga'ofi. The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is meant full brothers and sisters.)**
3. **Matapule. Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.**
4. **Kainangafonua. Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.**
5. **Tamai o eiki. Cooks and low people.**

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Moungalakepa (1773), daughter of Sinaitakala III and Tui Lakepa (?) Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Probably buried in the Langi Mounga on Tungua Island, Haapai. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu II (35). 644 173

Latufuipeka, daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, brother of Tamaha Moungalakepa. Tui Tonga Pau (36). 551

Fakahikuouiha or Amelia (died 1852), daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Haa Teiho Haveatungua. Buried in a langi on Tungua Island. Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa (37).

Four Tamaha had the Tui Lakepa as fathers, two had the Tui Haa Teiho. 644 It is reported that only these chiefs might beget the Tamaha. The brother of the Tamaha became the next Tui Lakepa or the next Tui Haa Teiho. Thus Takavaha, brother of Latufuipeka, became Tui Lakepa. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, brother of Fakahikuouiha, became Tui Haa Teiho. These titles are said to have been originally established by the Tui Tonga.

The Tamaha was the great *fahu* of the Tui Tonga. To her he made 643 obeisance, as did inferiors to him. Cook, in 1777, tells of the Tui Tonga Pau 644 and the Tamaha Moungalakepa, to whom Pau paid the same homage that 604 he received from his own subjects, embracing her feet with his hands. The [554] Tui Tonga did not make obeisance to her brother the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu but did refrain from eating in his presence, thus paying him the respect due him as a lesser *fahu*. Cook states that the term *areekee* (*ariki*) was only applied to Pau and to Latunipulu.

To her mother (the Female Tui Tonga) and to her mother's brother [601] (the male Tui Tonga) the Tamaha used the term *huhu*, the royal equivalent of the ordinary Tongan term *fae* (mother). Like *fae*, which is extended to the mother's brother in the term *fae tangata* (male mother) *huhu* is extended to the mother's brother also. The reciprocal of *huhu* is said to be the ordinary term *tama* (child).

The term Tamaha seems to have been loosely applied to all of the chil- 644 dren of the Female Tui Tonga begotten by the Tui Haa Teiho or the Tui Lakepa. However, only one was appointed to the preeminent office of Tamaha and that one was always a woman. The Latunipulu whom Cook met was a male Tamaha and Tui Lakepa; in fact Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 413) speaks of four contemporary Tamaha, Latunipulu and three women.

Veasi (Veachi) of whom Wilson and Mariner speak so favorably was a Tamaha, the brother of Tamaha Fakahikuouiha (Amelia) who died in 1852. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, another brother, became the Tui Haa Teiho. Veasi appears not to have had a title, but in his role of unofficial male Tamaha he was exempt from tribute paying.

A reported example of a person of even more exalted rank than the [554] Tamaha is that of Tamatauhala (name or title?) a son of a Tamaha by a Tui Tonga. It is said that there has been but one such in the history of the country. The names of his parents were not learned. The Tamaha's genealogies mention no such person.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 326) presented a pewter plate to Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] in 1777, which he said he would substitute for the bowl which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy, and which was used to absolve persons from tapu when the Tui Tonga was absent.

Concerning the chief (presumably Tui Tonga Kauulufonua III) whom Tasman met in 1643, Wilson says (66, p. xlvii):

> An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a divining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

RANK AND LANGUAGE

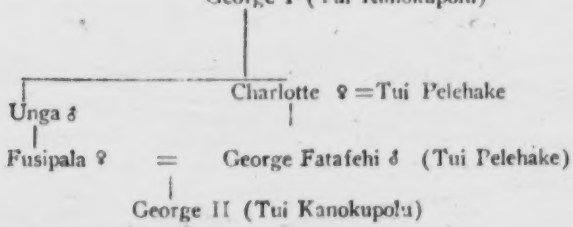
The Tongans make use of different words and expressions when addressing or referring to persons of different social standing. By listening to a conversation it is possible to tell whether those conversing are of equal or unequal rank. One set of words was used in addressing or speaking of the Tamaha, the Female and the Male Tui Tonga, another for the Tui Haa Takalaua, the Tui Kanokupolu, and the chiefs, and still another for the people. In speaking or referring to matapules, terms for the people are used by their superiors and terms for chiefs by their inferiors. It is said that individuals of the same rank use terms for the people when conversing among themselves, but there are exceptions. For example, the Tamaha calls her mother *huhu*, not *fae* (the ordinary term for mother). Furthermore the use of the Tui Tonga term *lakoifie* for Tui Pelehake (who, like the first Tui Tonga, was of celestial origin) suggests that other Tui Tonga terms may have been similarly used.

The relation of rank and language is well expressed by Elia Malupo, one of the Tui Tonga's ceremonial attendants, in a statement written November 27, 1905.

> Oku tolu ae faahinga: koe faahinga muomua, ae Tamaha, moe Tui Tonga; moe faahinga e taha, ae Tui Haa Takalaua, moe Tui Kanokupolu; pea moe faahinga e taha, ae kakai. Koia ia, oku tolu ae lea: 1, Kakai; 2, Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, Tui Tonga. Koeni: Kapau teu fetaulaki mo ha taha, oe faahinga oe kakai, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?".
>
> Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga lotoloto, oe Houeiki, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" Pea kapau ko ha taha oe faahinga muomua, teu pehe ki ai: "Ko hoo haele ki fe?"
>
> There are three ranks: the leading rank, the Tamaha, and the Tui Tonga; and another rank, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; and another rank, the people. There are three sets of words: 1, the people; 2, the Tui Haa Takalaua; 3, the Tui Tonga. Thus: If I should meet with anyone of the people rank, I would say: "Ko hoo alu ki fe?" (Where are you going?) And should it be one of the middle rank of chiefs, I would say to him: "Ko hoo mea ki fe?" (Where are you going?) [The old greeting for matapule and commoner is said to be *siotoofa* or *siokuofa*, presumably the equivalent of the modern *mololelei*.]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.



Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross-cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

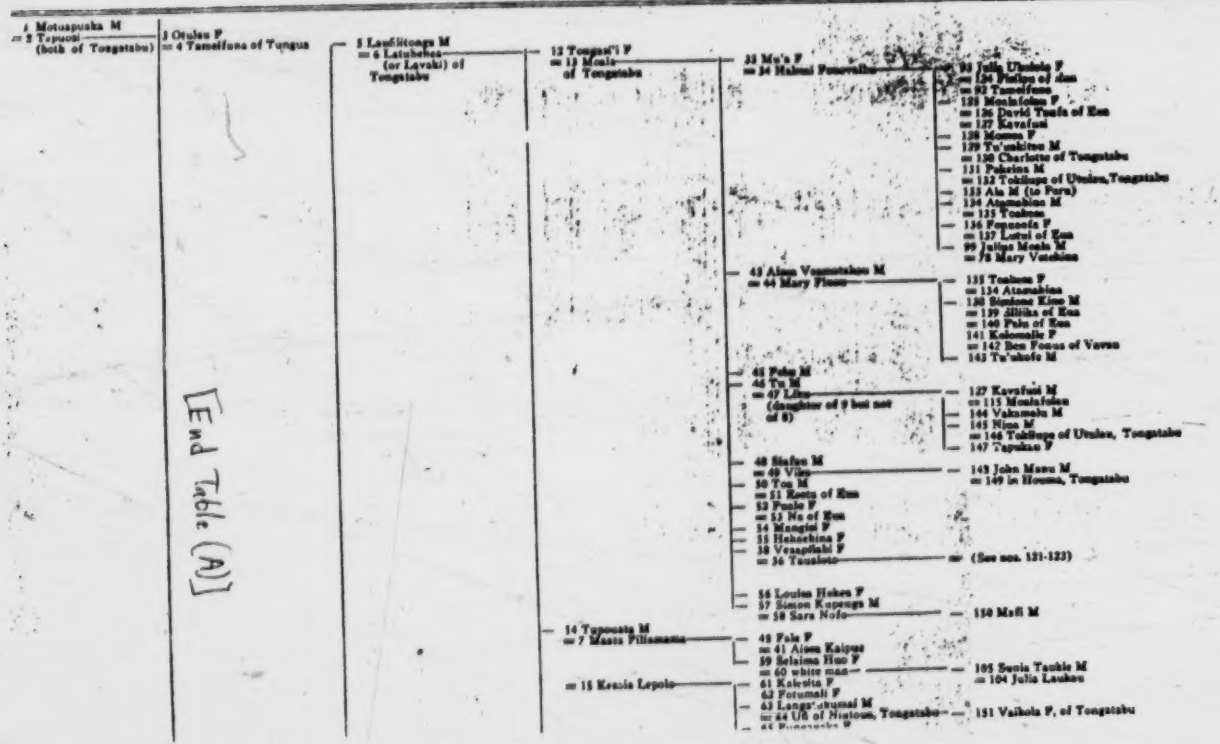
Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she

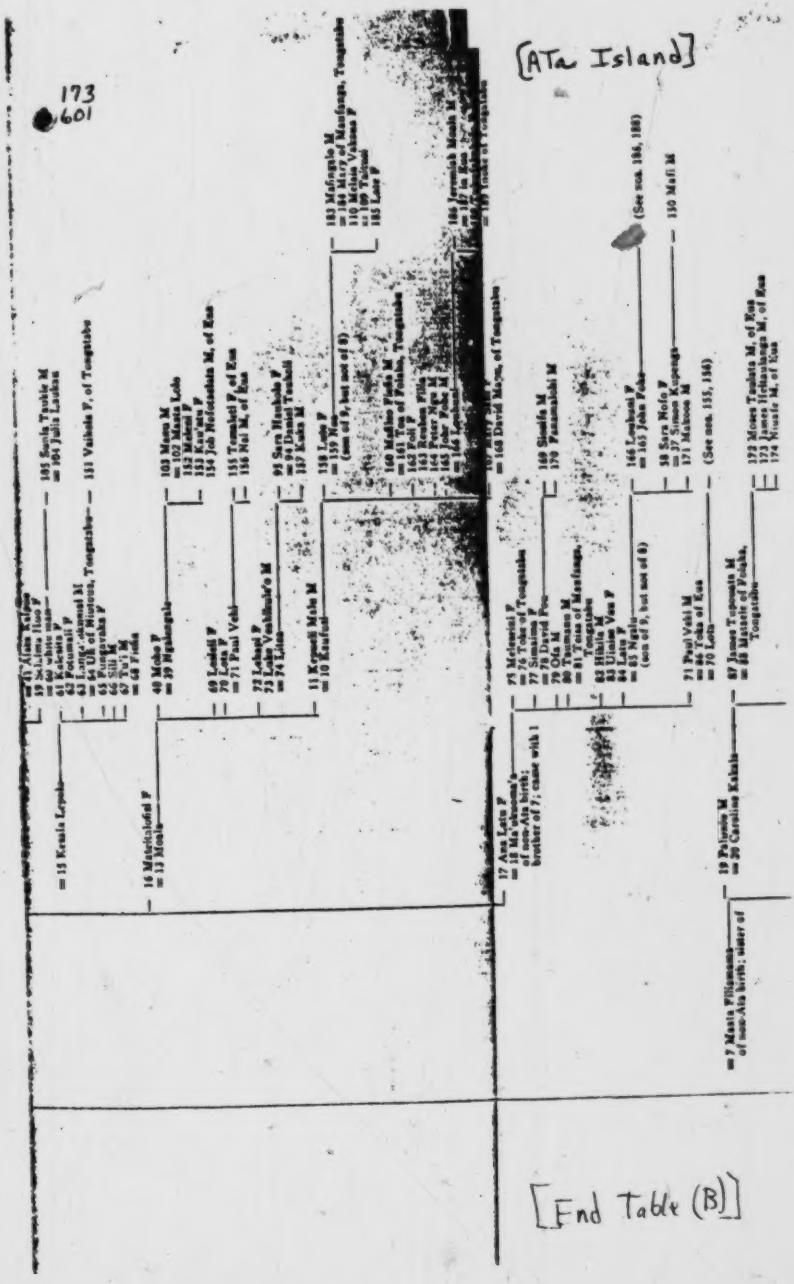
1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OMO Tonga OMO

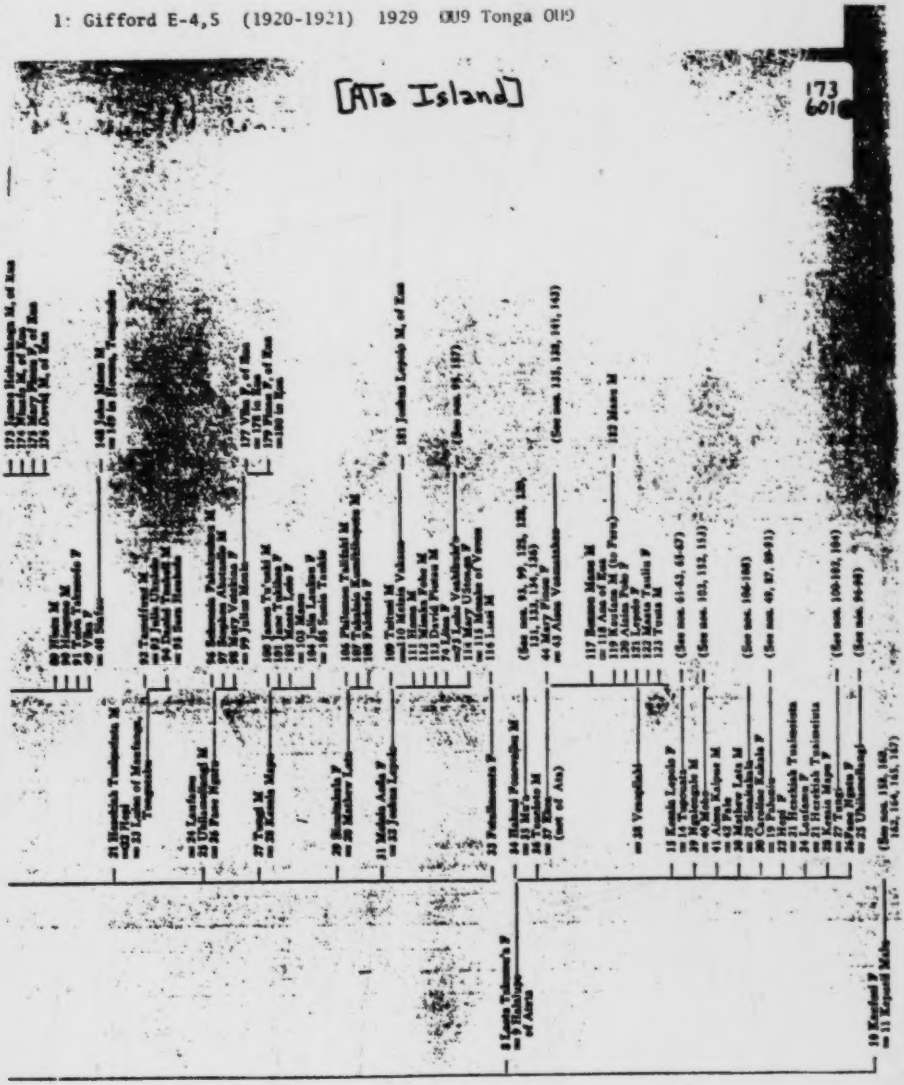
1097 173

TABLE 15. GENEALOGY OF ATA (PYLSTAARTS) ISLANDERS



[End Table (A)]


[ATa Island]
173
601
[End Table (B)]



[End Table (c)]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

592 The variation in the numerical composition of the 162 Pangai households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of households	3	3	2	4	9	5	1	6	5	4	1	1

Households with a numerical membership of four to ten persons account for seventy-seven per cent. of the total number of households.

ADOPTION

597 There are two types of adoption practised in Pangai. The first is a permanent adoption *(ohia)*. It involves a complete change of family and household. The child is bespoken generally before or immediately after birth. The adopting parents provide food for the pregnant mother and [553] for the infant during the nursing-period. They also name [862] the child, taking possession of it after weaning is completed. At this time the break is made with the blood-parents and the child is thereafter known as the child of the adopting parents. As it grows up it will learn kinship terms and [867] terms of respect for the relatives of its adopted parents, not [601] for those of its own blood-parents. It will also expect to [428] inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents.

The other type of adoption is an impermanent feeding-relationship *(tauhi)*. Relatives ask for a child or parents ask relatives to take a child if the relatives are lonely or elderly or if the parents find that they have more mouths in the household than there is food to go round. The relatives feed and care for the child, but the child may return to its parents any time it is convenient or circumstances so change [603] that this return is desirable. Very often grandparents take [428] charge of a grandchild in this way, leaving property to the grandchild when they die.

The feeding-relationship is the more common of the two types of adoption. Of twenty-five cases of adoption known to informants among the village population of 268 persons, only two were of the permanent type, the remainder being of the feeding-type. It is obvious from this that complete

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

KINSHIP

602 128 The structure and functioning of the Tongan kinship system has already been competently described by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 21-29). Just because, however, the functioning of the economic and social systems of village life is shot through and through with rights and duties based upon kinship relationships, it is desirable that some brief account should be given of the way certain kinship relations affect the everyday life of this commoner village. It should be noted that no attempt is made to present here the theoretical kinship structure. Our interest is in what use is made today of the more significant parts of this structure. Further material in this connection will be found in other relevant sections of this report, particularly in the descriptions of the life cycle (pp. 78-106).

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

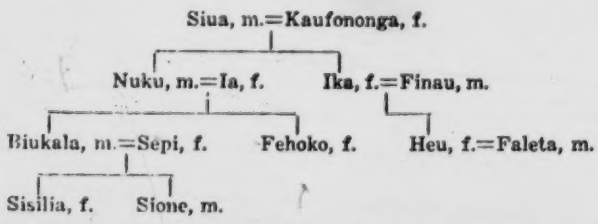
593 602 There is strong brother-sister avoidance in the village. In Tongan thought, this is conceived of as "showing respect" *(fakaapaapa)* for the sibling of the opposite sex. The respect is extended to include all those classificatory kin [601] to whom the terms brother and sister may be applied, for example, cross-cousins. This respect is shown by the following observances: those who are considered brother and sister may not quarrel or gossip with or about each other; they may not sleep in the same house, drink of the same coconut, eat of the same portion of food; they may not wear each other's clothes, although the sister may handle and wash her brother's clothes. Formerly, they might not 178 sit or talk together, only opposite and at some distance from 593 each other. Formerly the sister avoided altogether her 602 brother's house; today she may go to his house for food or come to the house when the brother is sick, provided she sits at a safe distance from the sick man. It is permissible today for the sister to show affection for her brother by "kissing" him when he is going off on a long journey or returning from one, as in the case of the sister who excitedly ran to "kiss" her brother, and as quickly withdrew, when he returned, after a dangerous journey by cutter, from school 593 in Tongatapu. These attitudes begin at about the time when 602

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age.

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked according to age and descent. Thus in the following genealogy:



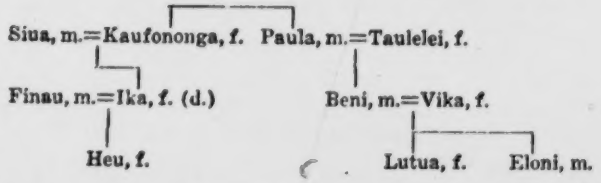
both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

FATHER'S SISTER

604
[601] The respectful observances between brother and sister carry on in the next generation in the kinship status of the father's sister *(mehekitanga)* in relation to her brother's children. These kinship avoidances therefore, generally operate between two generations, but if the father's sister is dead, then the father's sister's daughter will act as father's sister even though her " nephews and nieces " are of the same generation stratum as herself. This is shown if the generation given above is continued with collateral lines:

[601]



In this genealogy, Ika, now deceased, was the " sister " of Beni, and hence, father's sister of Beni's children, Lutua and Eloni. However, Heu, Ika's daughter, is classed now as father's sister to Beni's children. This of course, complicates the reciprocal relationships considerably, because Beni also ranks as Heu's mother's brother, from whom Heu, because of the *fahu* relationship, may take anything she wishes.

[784] Between the father's sister and her brother's children, respectful observances, as noted, are still important. Thus Heu acts as father's sister to four children, Sisilia, Sione, Lutua, Eloni. It is *tapu* for the children to drink of the same nut or eat of the same portion of food as Heu. The children may not come into the house if Heu is sick, although Heu may care for any of the four children should they be sick. At all times the children must defer to the authority and wishes of their father's sister. She has in a real sense, ultimate control over their lives in so far as her brothers must also defer to her authority. It is right and proper that when any food distribution is made, the father's sister should be remembered with an extra large share. Or that when any fish catch is made, some of the fish should be set aside for the father's sister before the catch is consumed or sold. At all times and in all places, that is, care must be taken to show deference and regard for the father's sister.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

MOTHER'S BROTHER

The mother's brother is termed *fa'e tangata*, "male mother." Between him and his sister's children *(ilamutu)* there is a relationship termed *fahu* which also extends to his own children. This relationship is one of great freedom, so much indeed that the missionary Baker, for instance, in compiling his Tongan dictionary defines *fahu* as "one that is above the law." The definition is not strictly correct because the *fahu* relationship is governed very precisely by the law of custom, but this custom allows behaviour that to the early missionaries must have bordered on a horrible license in regard to the disposal of property.

According to the *fahu* relationship as observed in the village today, the children have full liberty to help themselves to the property of their mother's brother. Thus when Biukala went to Tongatapu to boarding-school, he naturally expected his mother's brother to provide him with pocket-money, food, and clothing—just for the asking. His mother's brother never failed to give what was required. Biukala also lived with this relative during school vacations because he had free access to the mother's brother's house and all that it contained. Similarly with the complex relationship shown in the genealogy on page 74. When Heu functions as an *ilamutu* to Beni, she goes without asking permission to Beni's plantation gardens and takes whatever food she requires—bananas, plantains, yams, *taro*. She also asks Beni for a pig should she need one and have none of her own available. She does not ask Beni either for money or clothes although she would be well within her rights in so doing. After one of these visits to his gardens, Beni usually comes to Heu's house and asks if she is the one who has taken the food. Heu says yes, and Beni leaves without further comment. His visit is merely to make sure that no unauthorised persons have been tampering with his property.

Where there are several *ilamutu*, it is generally conceded that the rights and desires of the senior take precedence over those of the junior *ilamutu*. Seniority is based either on chronological age if all *ilamutu* are of the same generation, or else on genealogical reckoning if there is generation disparity.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

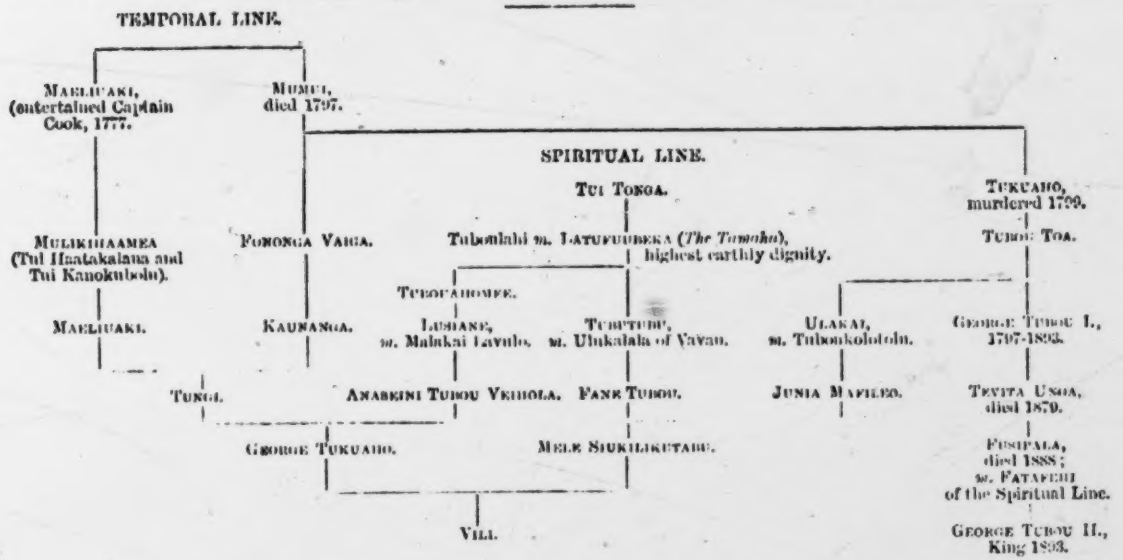
Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given [759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, [465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends [574] and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the [262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in
846 the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *mehekitanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold
601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is [854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent [795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark [854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away [574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

III.—TABLE SHOWING GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS NEAREST TO THE THRONE OF TONGA.



14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894 OU9 Tonga OU9
175
601
643
622
565

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw, and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of observation.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might regard it.

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism. Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage, but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend.

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's daughter.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

Man C: According to this informant, there is no difference between *famili* and *kainga*. He traced as those two group's members every person who is consanguineally related to him through father and mother including far relations such as his mother's sister's daughter's son and his brother's daughter's son. He clearly distinguishes consanguineal relatives from affinal relatives who are defined by him as *mali pe*, married only. The only exception is his own wife who is included in his *famili* upon her marriage. 612

If we ask particularly about the difference between *famili* and *kainga*, most of the informants explain that *famili* includes close relations and *kainga* remote relations. But the distinction of the two terms is not always clear, for there are not a few cases where one may be called *famili* of so and so on some occasions, *kainga* on other occasions by the same informant. The truth is that, both *famili* and *kainga* seem to be used in the same way which traces bilaterally all the consanguineal kinsmen. I will use the word here in this report as mentioned by Man C. It may be defined altogether as personal kindred.

Ulu i Famili

The head of *famili* is called *ulu i famili*. Gifford mentions the word *ulu motua* as the head of the family. The functional role of *ulu i famili* is observed only on ceremonial occasions of weddings and funerals. At a wedding, what the *ulu i famili* is mainly concerned with is how to divide food among the people invited to a wedding. However, he does not demur at the fitness of the partner or the date of wedding. At a funeral, the *ulu i famili* gives his instruction about the allotment of the work, the feast and so on. [601]

As *famili* is personal kindred, it is 'ego-oriented' and differs for each person except full siblings. If *ulu i famili* were the head of a *famili* of this type, that is personal kindred, he would not function effectively at all as the *famili* concerned would depend on the position of ego. An *ulu i famili* can only be appointed for each individual at the centre.

When we ask "Who is your *ulu i famili?*" villagers name an old man on the paternal side of the *famili*. When a son or a daughter marries, his or her father will consult with his *ulu i famili*. Children are included in a *famili* of their mother, but they are not subject to the *ulu i famili* to whom their mother belongs. They belong to their father's *ulu i famili*. So the *famili* itself is 'ego-oriented' but, one may say, those who belong to a certain *ulu i famili* can be determined only by considering the particular nuclear family concerned. As a matter of convenience in distinguishing these two forms of kin groups, the family group which belong to one *ulu i famili* will be called the *famili* organisation in this paper. [128]

Famili organisation in Nukuleka

In Nukuleka, 5, named Pualiki, has the largest number of *famili* and is somehow related to the families of 24 households out of 33. According to 5, he is the *ulu i famili* of nuclear families of 15 households. The following list shows his *famili* organisation and the relationship with them. (see Fig. 2). 612 621

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

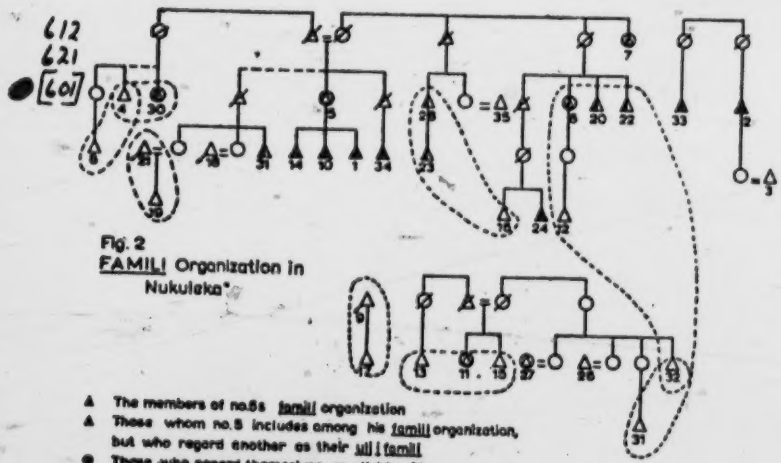


Fig. 2
FAMILI Organization in Nukuleka*

▲ The members of no.5's famili organization
▲ Those whom no.5 includes among his famili organization, but who regard another as their uli i famili
● Those who regard themselves as uli i famili
▲ Those whose uli i famili live outside of the village.
✗ Deceased
(·) Persons whose uli i famili is the same
Children of the same father but a different mother
Children of the same mother but a different father

*The figure is simplified by showing only the heads of the nuclear families and the persons who are necessary for tracing the relationship.

14 is 5's first son; 10 is 5's third son; 1 is 5's fourth son; 34 is 5's full brother's son; 31 is 5's half brother's son; 30 is 5's father's sister's son; 6 is 5's mother's sister's son; 20 is 5's mother's sister's son; 22 is 5's mother's sister's son; 24 is 5's mother's sister's son's daughter's son; 28 is 5's brother's son; 23 is 28's son; 7 is 5's mother's brother; in the case of 2 and 33 the relationship cannot be traced from the figure. Although they themselves do not know it exactly, they think they are *famili* of 5.

As shown in fig. 2, Pualiki's *famili* organisation extends both to his father's and his mother's side, excluding 18, 21 and 35 whose wives are related to him. 30 and 6, each related to him through a female member, are considered to be members of his *famili* organisation. Although Pualiki says that he is the *ulu i famili* of all these fifteen families, only seven regard him as their *ulu i famili;* the other eight regard another person or themselves as *ulu i famili.*

612 621 128 The *famili* organisation of this village is shown in the following table. As in Pualiki's case those whom one *ulu i famili* regards as his *famili* members, are not the same as those who think him their *ulu i famili.* So, the families listed below are not from the viewpoint of *ulu i famili,* but from the viewpoint of individual families.

612 621 Even though 7 and 27 declare that they were *ulu i famili* of so and so families, none of them think they belong to either. The persons who regard themselves as *ulu i famili* are always over fifty years old. Generally speaking, an *ulu i famili* is an old man of the father's side of one's *famili.*

TABLE 6 — *Famili* ORGANISATION

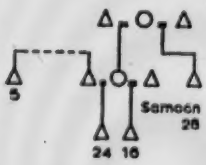
Ulu i famili	Age	Families which belong to him
5 (Pualiki)	58	14, 10, 1, 29, 24, 33, 2
6 (Leke)	65	20, 22, 12, 32 (31 regards 32 as his *ulu i famili*)
28	52	33, 16
30	58	4 (8 regards 4 as his *ulu i famili*)
11	68	15, 13
7	60	
27	67	
outside of the village		3, 9 (17), 18, 21 (19), 26
unknown		35

612
621

But the rule is not strictly observed. If someone cannot trace his father's relations for some reason or other, he may belong to his mother's *ulu i famili*. For example, 22, whose parents live separately, stays here with his mother and belongs to 6, Leka who is his mother's father. Also, 24 and 16 are half- brothers having the same mother, but 16 regards 28 and 24 regards 5 as his *ulu i famili* respectively. Shown in fig. 3, 16's father is a man from Nukuleka whose relation with 5 is unknown, but 24 presumes 5 to be his father's brother. So, 24 considers his paternal relative 5 as his *ulu i famili*. On the other hand, 16 can not trace his *ulu i famili* through his father and belongs to 28 who is his mother's half- brother. In another case, 31 does not think of 5, who is his father's elder brother, as *ulu i famili*, but 32 who is his mother's brother. There remains the fact to be taken into consideration for explaining the above case that 32 who resides next door gives advice to 31 in daily life. Five families have their *ulu i famili* outside the village. But they may seek advice from someone among their affinal relatives in the village, if they wish. For instance, 3 regards 2 as an adviser and 18 also regards 32 in the same way. It depends solely on the husband's will who his family's adviser shall be.

612
621
602

FIG 3 Relationship between no. 24 and no. 16



[601]

The Looseness of Famili Organisation

When asked, a man will often pause for a little tiime to think over who his *ulu i famili* is. 11 mentioned his mother's sister as his *ulu i famili*, when 13 sitting in company with him said that a woman can not be a *ulu i famili*. Then 11 corrected his previous words by saying that he himself was *ulu i famili*. And as already noted, those who regard someone as

612

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Nukuleka

are not reluctant to ask for help from their *famili;* one may *kole* (ask) foods, money, land use for cultivating or housing, and so forth. And one who is asked for something by one's *famili* would not refuse it. In case they borrow a portion of *api tukuhau* of their *famili,* they can usually plant and harvest any crop they like. The only exception is that the borrower has no right to get the coconuts from trees already planted. The coconuts are the chief source of the cash income for the villagers. When I asked them "What do you pay for the use of the land?" a common answer to this question is that he (she) is my *famili,* which suggests their idea that they do not have to pay to their *famili.*

Prohibition of Marriage

Marriage prohibition extends bilaterally towards the farthest relationship. If two persons recognise themselves as belonging to the same *famili,* even if their actual relationship may not be traceable, they must not marry. A man and woman in the same generation in the same *famili* stand as brother and sister; the former should respect and protect the latter. But in a different village, I know of a couple consisting of a man and his father's (classificatory?) sister's son's daughter. The story about their marriage is as follows. They had lived in the same village and the boy fell in love with her. Every time he came to see the girl, her parents suspecting their immoral love, sent him away. But one day they ran away to Nuku'alofa to get married. After they came back, the bridegroom and his father visited his wife's parents, taking with them food which had been cooked in an *umu.* Then on the evening of the same day, her mother brought bark cloth and mats to their house for the bridal bed. Now, they are apparently not blamed either by their parents or by the villagers because of the run-away marriage, and her mother was not ashamed to tell me the story. Anyway this remains an exceptional case.

Famili functions in a field of co-operation and marriage and prohibition. On the other hand a *famili* organisation does not necessarily operate at all since the group for co-operation need not extend beyond the household. A person needing another's help, may ask the members of his *famili* individually. In short, in the Tongan way, more emphasis is put on the interpersonal, individual relationship than on the group relationship. The next chapters will report the kinship behaviour centring upon the relationship between individuals.

V The Interpersonal Relationship

Kinship Terminology

The terminology of Tongan kinship system has already been precisely described by Gifford, I will touch on some variations from his statement. He wrote about *tamai* that all male and female relatives of the father and in his generation are said to be called fathers.[15] But so far as I could know, this usage of *tamai* is not so extensive today. It includes the father and the father's brothers in classificatory sense, but not female relations of the father. In the same way, I am not certain if *fa'e* includes

15. Gifford 1929: 28.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or *tokoua o'e fa'e* is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described by Gifford[16] and Koch [17] was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata* must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are completely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford under the name of *mo'a*,[18] a term which I could not elicit. Gifford thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.[19] But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children

Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929 :29.
19. Gifford 28.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

Fakafotu have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

45. Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata*'s possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata*'s wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga*'s children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything.

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

12

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute between them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B, and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classificatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege towards the classificatory *fa'e tangata* so freely as towards his real mother's brother.

Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep. Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the place where the boys sleep.

(a) in the main *fale mohe* with sisters ..... 3 households
(b) in another *fale mohe* ..... 5 households
(c) in *fale kai* ..... 1 household
(d) some brothers in another *fale mohe* but others with sisters ..... 1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years of age in his fatherm's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

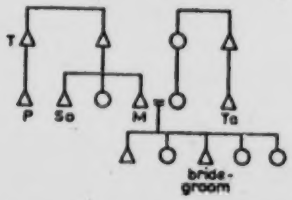
14

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 000 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

585
601

FIG. 5 The bridegroom and his relatives.



585 292 The bridegroom changed his clothes five times during the period from *fakalelea mali* to the end of *katoanga mali*, the clothes were presented to those who are mentioned below.

The *vala fakalelea mali* (dress for *fakalelea mali*) of *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu* (both, a kind of mat) were given to the bride. The *vala mali* (dress for the wedding ceremony) of *kie* (a kind of mat) were borrowed from the groom's mother and given back to her later. The *vala katoanga mali* (dress for *katoanga mali*) for the first time, a *fihu* of thirteen feet was given to the bride's mother; for the second time, a *ngatu* of *launima*,[22] to Mrs. Vekune, a noble widow, who was related to the groom's father and attended the feast; for the third time, a *vala fakatau kava* (dress for bringing *kava* cup to the bride) a *ngatu* of ten *langanga* was given to the bride's mother.

His mother prepared all the clothes. Every time he changed his dress, he went back to his house which was quite near to the banquet place. The bride had been wearing *ngatu* of eight *langanga* and *kie* until *katoanga mali* was over. Her mother and the *fa'e tangata* of the groom wore *ngatu* of five *langana*.

While they were in Nuku'alofa, both mothers made up *koloa* respectively for the young couple. The bridegroom's *koloa* consisted of 3 *ngatu*, bark cloth), 1 *kafu* (cover) of 10 *langanga*, 1 *puipui*, (curtain) of 10 *langanga*, 1 *aofi* (sheet) of 8 *langanga*; 3 *fala* (mat), 1 *lotaha* (roughly made mat) of 10 feet, 1 *fala paongo* (a mat made of *paongo* leaves), of 15 feet, 1 *fala tofua* (a mat made of *tofua* leaves) of 15 feet. The bride's *koloa* consisted of 1 *ngatu* (bark cloth) which had been *lautefuhi* (100 *langanga*), but was cut into halves, two *launima* (50 *langanga*); 3 *fala* (mat), 1 *fala paufu* (a mat made of *paufu* leaves), 1 *fala tofua*, 1 *fala fihu*, which had been made by her mother's younger sister several years ago, not for her marriage.

Except for this last article all these *koloa* were made by their mothers.
585 After *katoanga mali* was over, the bride's mother brought additionally some bark cloths and mats to them. The groom's mother also had already arranged almost the same things to offer herself. So she made the bed for the bridal night with enough materials from both families.

Next morning, the groom's mother examined the bark cloth of the bed. She wrapped it with *kie* and took it along with a roasted pig to the

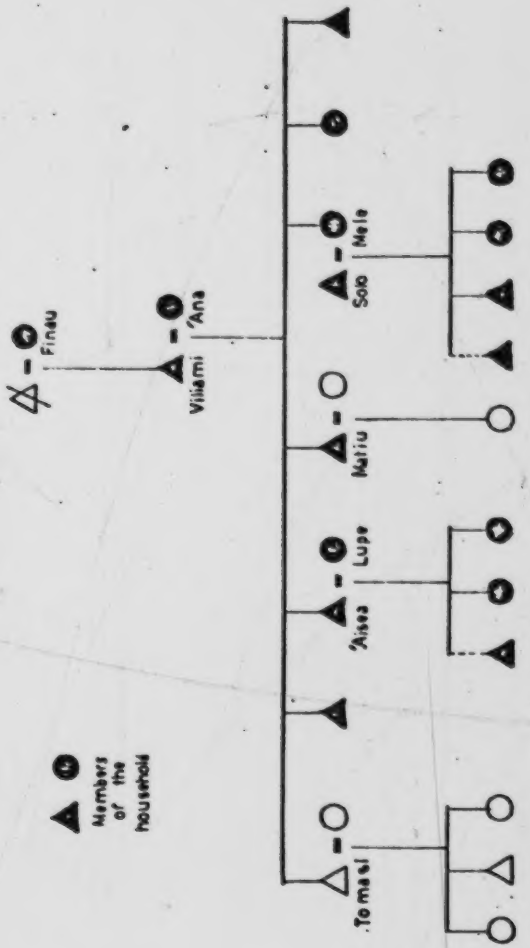
22. *Launima* consists of fifty *langanga*. One *langanga* is about two times as long as the distance between the thumb and the middle fingers of a hand when the fingers are stretched out in opposite direction.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592
596
601

FIGURE 2

Viliami and 'Ana's Household



53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

holder (Maude, 1965, p. 29). Today, with the dissolution of the lineage and the descent principle among commoners, the term *kāinga* is applied to one's bilateral kindred or field of individuals that one recognizes as kinsmen. In former times, the commoner *'ulu mōtu'a* was linked to the class system by being considered the *foha* (son) or *tehina* (younger brother) of the chief to whose lineage his people were collaterally related and subordinated.

The internally ranked *kāinga* is conceptually related to rank in the class system in the following ways: (1) Relations between *Tu'i* and *'eiki*, and between *'eiki* and *tu'a* are marked by rigid deference behavior expressed in *tapus*. Within the *kāinga*, the important reciprocal ranked relationships between father-children, brother-sister, and father's sister-brother's children are expressed in similar *tapus*. (2) In talking about rank in the *kāinga*, Tongans discriminate status by saying that A is either *'eiki* or *tu'a* to B, i.e., class concepts are used to designate relative rank in the *kāinga*. Alternatively, the term *fahu*, 'above the law', is used in describing rank designation both within the *kāinga* and between classes. (3) Formerly, a kinship idiom was used to characterize relationships between individuals of different classes: *'ulu mōtu'a* were termed the *foha* or *tehina* of *'eiki*. Of course the *'ulu mōtu'a* were in fact usually related to their *'eiki* but the kinship terms used to characterize their relationship were idiomatic and metaphoric, rather than descriptive of actual ties. Finally, (4) Tongan kin terms have the character of titles, similar to titles of nobility defining the societal class hierarchy, which allocate particular statuses of honor to an individual and define for him standards of behavior concerning demeanor and deference in relation to all other individuals in his *kāinga*. These shared concepts of rank survive to the present in both the Tongan class system and the *kāinga* despite important structural changes that have occurred in Tongan society.

Conditions in contemporary Tonga may be seen against the backdrop of changes that occurred during the period of civil wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the rise to power in the mid-nineteenth century of George Tupou I, the founder of the present royal dynasty. Tonga was ruled by a line of Tu'i Tonga, putatively descended from the union of a god and a woman of an earlier Tongan population. After a history of assassinations of Tu'i Tonga, in the fifteenth century, the twenty-fourth incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

ties, can be subdivided: status among kinsmen (*kāinga* ranking) incorporates principles of age, sex, and whether the individual is related through the mother or the father; however, in *kāinga* inheritance, the significant dimension is male primogeniture within the patrilineal group. Societal ranking includes two kinds of rank: chiefs are differentiated from commoners, and entire societal groupings (*ha'a*) are ranked in regard to each other. *Ha'a* cannot be uniformly subdivided to form family groups, as one might ideally expect in terms of collateral segmentation. Instead, *ha'a* are societal divisions that have political functions and can be conceptually separated from the kinship system (although there is a great deal of interaction between them). One individual may rank higher than another in societal rank and lower in *kāinga* rank; or two individuals may be related in two different ways, and they may alternately outrank each other, depending on which relationship is being activated. Conflict is usually avoided in such cases because the activity taking place generally prescribes which kind of ranking shall receive priority. A social occasion within the kin group activates different principles than does a village affair, or one that involves the whole society.

The first major strand to be dealt with will be *kāinga*, on which social status and inheritance among kinsmen depends. Second, class ranking will be dealt with, that is, the ranking of the roles of chiefs and commoners. Finally *ha'a* rank, that is, the ranking of groups associated with a title that originated by collateral segmentation, will be described. Throughout, the concepts of *'eiki* (chiefly) and *tu'a* (common) are used; that is, within each strand some individuals or groups are considered to be higher than others. Though the strands are separated for easier explication, the relationships between them are implicit. These relationships are sometimes contradictory, but because of this are useful in reinforcing chiefly position, especially at the highest societal levels.

KĀINGA RANKING

All relatives to whom one can bilaterally trace a relationship are called *kāinga* (kinsmen). One has many *kāinga*, a number of whom may act as a group on various occasions, and perhaps it is best to consider *kāinga* as consanguineal relationship. *Kāinga* is not the same as a Samoan *aiŋga*.[71] The Tongan language has no indigenous word for family, the word *fāmili* having been adopted from English to refer either to the nuclear family or to the bilocal extended family, but it seems that no such word was used during pre-European times.[8]

Kinship Categories Used for Reference Among Kāinga

Kui: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations above ego.

Mehiķitanga: all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father, e.g., FaSi, FaFa, SiDa.

Tamai: father and all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the father.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fa'ē: mother and all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the mother.
Fa'ē tangata (*tu'asina*): all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the mother.
Tuofefine (man speaking): all female kinsmen of the same generation.
Tuonga'ane (woman speaking): all male kinsmen of the same generation.
Tokoua: kinsmen of the same sex and the same generation.
'Ilamutu (man speaking): children of *tuofefine*.
Fakafotu (woman speaking): children of *tuonga'ane*.
'Ofefine (man speaking): female offspring of self and *tokoua*.
Foha (man speaking): male offspring of self and *tokoua*.
Tama (woman speaking): male and female offspring of self and *tokoua*.[4]
Mokopuna: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations below ego.

These categories are ranked according to several principles. Starting with ego's generation, the first principle is that females have higher status than males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder has higher status than younger, comes into play. Thus a girl of twelve years of age will have higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationships of ego with the parental generation, another principle takes precedence. This divides an individual's kinsmen into two parts, the paternal kinsmen being higher than ego and the maternal kinsmen being lower than ego. Operating on this principle is sibling status. Thus in the parental generation the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. After them father's brothers are differentiated in status according to age. Continuing with these principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly higher are the mother's sisters. The principle of age in the mother's sibling group is of little importance to ego.

The relationship of ego to members of the generation below depends primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's children are higher in status than ego, which is reflected in the special term he uses for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. Ego's brother's children are classified with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego. Ego's sister's children have higher status than his own and his brother's children.

Little status or favoritism is involved in ego's relationships with the grandparent-grandchild generations, except for a slight elevation of a daughter's children over a son's children.

The principles of status among *kāinga* delineate the above-named categories of kinsmen, and with these categories or kin types go definite rules of behavior. Thus by knowing the kinship label of any kinsman, an individual knows what the appropriate interaction should be, and what role he should play.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as follows:

Avoidance—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex (i.e., between *tuofefine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls *'ilamutu*).
Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).
Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga*.
Welfare and direction—demanded of *tamai* to their *'ofefine* and *foha*.
Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'ē* to *tama*.
Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'ē tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).
No restraints—between *kui* and *mokopuna*.

These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation, which results in avoidance;[5] and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.[6]

The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his *'ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations to his *fahu*. (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. One's cross-cousins are not terminologically distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin is called *'ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does.

These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions.

Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.[7] Those of his father's kinsmen are *'eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* (common),[8] his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually inferior.

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary. This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank. But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES

1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from 1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25,984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920.

2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.

3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian *mataqali* and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.

4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring) and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her behavior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.

5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.

6. *Tokoua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* (younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* (fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle does have importance, however, in inheritance.

7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.

8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a tu'asina* of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* (for funerals only).

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa kava* sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below.

612 birthday celebrations. A group formed in this manner can be referred to as an occasional kin group. The kāinga then is an egocentric group of kinsmen, theoretically coterminous for real siblings. The size of an individual's kāinga is only limited by his knowledge of his own con-
[124] sanguineal relations. Adult informants vary considerably as to the number of kinsmen with whom they can remember exact ties, some knowing as few as 90 and some knowing as many as 200.

For ego, kāinga is a category which is conceptually opposed to non-kinsmen. Kinsmen are a sphere of people who are more trustworthy, more dependable, and more willing to assist ego than any other segment of society. Among kinsmen 'the spirit and reality of cooperation' fetoko-ni'aki should always prevail.

The kāinga is divided into fourteen categories and each category is associated with a different set of behavioral correlates. Further refinement of this kin categories is specified by a ranking system, which ranks not only the categories but ranks individuals within the categories.

601 Kin Categories and Kin Ranking

Tongan kin terminology utilizes the criteria of sex of ego relative to alter, the sex of alter, bifurcation, and genealogical distance to distinguish categories. In G-1 the four categories are determined by the sex of alter and the sex of the first connecting link in any genealogical sequence. In ego's generation categories are distinguished by the criteria of alter's sex relative to ego, and alter's sex. In G-1 all three criteria--sex of ego, sex of alter, and bifurcation are

601 applied. All kinsmen two or more generations above ego are referred to as kui but generation distance may be marked by number so that grandparents are kui taha, great grandparents are kui u'a, etc.[1] Likewise, all kinsmen two or more generations below ego are grouped under the term mokopuna and generations may be stipulated by number (See Table 8 for terminology).[B] Affines, including H, HB, W, WZ, are referred to as mali but are not considered to be part of one's kainga. [612]

Tongans easily shift from this clasificatory terminology to a more descriptive form by using the same terms but confining their meaning to the "real" relationships, e.g., 'brother of my father' tokoua o'e tamai. Names or titles are used in address, not kin terms. [551] [554]

602 554 Kin ranking is a conceptual overlay on the terminological system just described. Relative ranking utilizes a somewhat different set of criteria combining filiation, sex of alter relative to ego to form a system of relationships in which no two kinsmen can be said to be of equal rank. The criterion of filiation is applied first so that all agnates outrank uterines; agnates are 'eiki 'chiefly', and uterines are tu'a 'commoners'. The criterion of sex is applied so that in all category pairs distinguishable only by sex, e.g. fa'e-fa'e tangata, the female category is of higher rank than the male category. In categories including both male and females, e.g., 'ilamutu, females outrank males regardless of age. Lastly, alters of the same sex and same category are ranked according to their relative age so that older individuals outrank younger individuals. 602 554 562 [561]

A. [For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst] B. [See pp. 42-43--Analyst]

TABLE 8

Kinship Categories: Reference Terminology

601 1. Tokoua (B, FZS, FBS, MZS, MBS) or (Z, FZD, FBD, MZD, MBD): Kinsmen of ego's sex and ego's generation.

2. Tuofefine* (Z, FZD, FBD, MZD, MBD): Females of ego's generation.

3. Tuonga'ane** (B, FZS, FBS, MZS, MBS): Males of ego's generation.

4. Tamai (F, FB, FFBS, FFZS, FMSS, FMZS): All male agnates one generation above ego.

5. Mehekitanga (FZ, FFBD, FFZD, FMBD, FMZD): All female agnates one generation above ego.

6. Fa'e (M, MZ, MFBD, MFZD, MMBD, MMZD): All female uterines one generation above ego.

7. Fa'e tangata (MB, MFBS, MFZS, MMBS, MMZS): All male uterines one generation above ego.

8. Foha* (S, BS, FBSS, FZSS, MZSS, MBSS): Male children of ego and ego's tokoua.

9. 'Ofefine* (D, BD, FBSD, FZSD, MBSD, MZSD): Female children of ego and ego's tokoua.

10. Tama** (D, S, ZD, ZS, FBDS, FBDD, FZDS, FZDD, MBDS, MBDD, MZDS, MZDD): Children of ego and ego's tokoua.

11. 'Ilamutu* (ZS, ZD, FBDS, FBDD, FZDS, FZDD, MBDD, MBDS, MZDD, MZDS): Children of tuofefine.

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 OU9 Tonga Puke OU9

TABLE 8 (Continued)

Kinship Categories: Peference Terminology

601 12. Fakafotu** (BS,BD, FBSS, FBSD, FZSS, FZSD, MBSD, MBSS, MZSD, MZSS): Children of tuonga'ane.

13. Kui (FF, FM, FFB, FFZ, FMB, FMZ, NM, MF, MMB, MMZ, MFB, MFZ): All kinsmen two or more generations above ego.

14. Mokopuna (DD, DS, SD, SS, BSD, BSS, BDD, BDS, ZSD, ZSS, ZDD, ZDS): All kinsmen two or more generations below ego.

* Male speaking
** Female speaking

593 561 554 [601] Under this system only constituents of the category tokoua 'siblings of ego's sex' can either be of higher rank of lower rank than ego by virtue of seniority. In this case there is a terminological distinction with older siblings of the same sex referred to as ta'okete and younger siblings of the same sex referred to as tehina. Kaeppler (1971: 176) suggests that age ranking is not very important, but it seems quite important within the sibling group for establishing order of dominance and subordination, for determining leadership on formal occasions and, of course, for determining inheritance. Figure 2 illustrates kin ranking. A

'Api: A Household

592 The term 'api is best translated as 'household' but it can also denote a plot of land for residence or gardening, or it can be used to refer to persons living together in a household. The Tongan household is the primary unit of production and normally functions as the largest unit for resource management.

592 351 Each household is situated on a compound covering 1 rood, 24 perches of village land.[2] Each structure on a compound is referred to according to its function; households usually consist of a sleeping house (fale mohe), a cookhouse (fale kai or peito), a roofless bathing stall (fale kaukau), and a covered toilet (fale malolo). Sleeping houses vary in design from traditional thatch houses to brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. In houses of the more traditional design partitions are absent except for tapa cloth (ngatu) curtains separating the sleeping

342 343 342 [178]

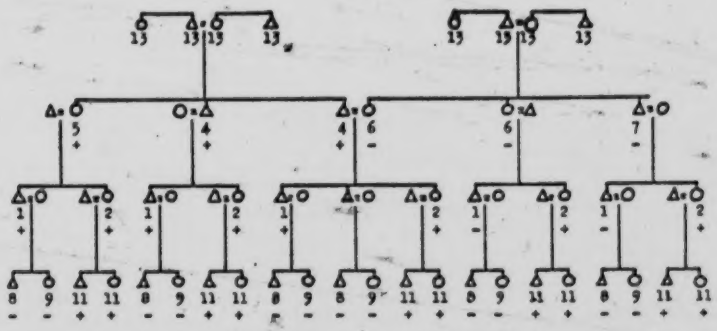
A. [See p. 45--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

FIGURE 2

Kin Reference Terms and Kin Ranking for Male Ego

(Numbers correspond to kin categories presented in Table 8.)
(A negative (-) sign symbolizes rank lower than ego.)
(A positive (+) sign symbolizes rank higher than ego.)



[See pp. 42-43--Analysis]

601
602
554
561

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 009 Tonga 009 Puke

571 602 476 where European institutions such as life insurance, workman's compensation, social security, and freehold land are not available.

571 602 [434] [182] Although the primary function of the agricultural system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday subsistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes on major importance, is to provide the owner with products to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the [43] [437] society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or presentations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats, tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the 128 predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship with the agricultural system, a brief description and analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The following treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude (1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971), and Morton (1972).

601 612 **Kinship Ties**

The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

601 612 red are kainga and famili. The term famili seems to be a more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties, whereas kainga, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 592 612 592 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative on two levels: within the household and within the broader extended family or kainga. The Tongan household, generally referred to as an 'api (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of

591 individuals working, eating,and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 [596] [594] [178] In the past, most households were composed of extended families; however, at present the trend is more toward nuclear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9

612 persons. The larger unit, the kainga, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who

[602] [184] reside in other households, villages, or island groups. The size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

of rank, but their observations add substance to the bare bones of tradition and give us tantalising glimpses of rank in action. On the second voyage for instance, Forster theorises on the origin of rank (1778: 353), while Cook tells of chiefs succeeding chiefs and of special observances between lesser and greater chiefs. Thus 'Otago' would not eat in the presence of the 'old chief', but when Cook went to deliver presents to the 'old chief' he found 'a far greater Chief no less than King of the whole Island' so great, in fact, that 'some when they approached him fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet' and 'no one durst pass him till he gave them leave' (Beaglehole 1961: 256–7). Forster writes that the 'chiefs constantly gave the presents they had received from us to the Latoo'; and, further, that 'their government has still much oriental despotism and slavish subjection to chiefs and their Latoo' (1778: 378, 379). Cook concludes that the *Latoo* was the first man on the Island under whom there were chiefs over certain districts and then a third level of chiefs, of which his friend Otago was a member. This was not a bad guess, in the light of only a few days' acquaintance with a complex system—but not the correct one. For, as we have seen, the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of the god Tangaloa, was the 'King' of all the archipelago and the divine ruler.

In order to understand the treatment of the *Latoo* we must first classify a second type of ranking in Tonga—that among kinsmen (*kāinga*). Starting with ego's own generation, the first principle of *kāinga* rank is that females have higher status than males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder outranking younger, comes into play. Thus, a girl of twelve years of age will have higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationship of ego with his parental generation, another principle takes precedence. An individual's kinsmen are divided into two classes—the paternal kinsmen who rank higher than ego, and the maternal kinsmen who rank lower than ego. Thus in the parental generation, the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. Following these, father's brothers are distinguished in status according to age. Continuing with these principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly higher are the mother's sisters.

The relationships of ego to members of the generation below him depend primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's children are higher in status than ego, and this is reflected in the special term he uses for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. These kinsmen are *fahu* (i.e., 'above the law') to ego and can take any of his possessions. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations, such as first fruits, to his *fahu* throughout his life. Ego's brother's children, on the other hand, are classified with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego.

Applying these principles to the Tu'i Tonga line, we see that the Tu'i Tonga himself was outranked within his *kāinga* by his sister. She was distinguished by a special title, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, i.e., the 'female Tu'i Tonga'. Of even higher rank were the Tu'i Tonga's sister's children, and especially her eldest daughter, who also had a special title, 'Tamaha'. On Cook's third voyage, Anderson tells us that *Latu* 'made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the King' (Beaglehole 1967: 954). In this framework we see that he was simply exercising his *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tamaha had high

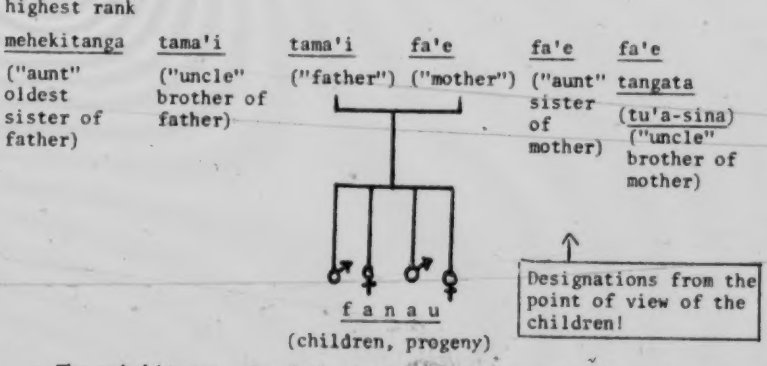
/71 cont./

601 177 [191] [871] The ancient Tongan kinship terms have remained alive. Though English is taught in the village schools, of all inhabited islands European kinship concepts have not been adopted, and even rather competent English-speaking natives have considerably difficulty explaining their relationship to a particular person to whites who are unfamiliar with the language of their country. Without going into the complexity of Tongan kinship terms more deeply, (205)

601 554

205. These terms have been described in detail by Gifford (compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 27 ff. and eisewhere.

let us give here a brief survey of the more immediate family:



604 554 The mehekitanga, the father's (eldest" sister is the most important of all the persons mentioned here. The children of the family have the greatest respect for her, and this is still to be seen in certain rules of avoidance; for example, the children are not permitted to eat any food of the mehekitana. (206)

206. Also, no part of the same orange, for instance.

000 /305 cont./

TF 515 179 especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

TF 302 179 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing

TF 291 179 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the

TF 304 178 Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

TF 581 179 997 In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago

TF 593 604 178 under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother" survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more

TF 601 drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages

TF 585 849 964 179 178 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

/317 cont./
fabrics in their traditional manner as a cloak or in the shape of an Arabian kanzu, (48)

48. Underneath this, perhaps a European shirt and shorts as well, the chiefs more often with long pants under the kanzu and a European jacket over it.

while the women who do not wear bark cloth have extended their old garment up to their shoulders and given it straps and short sleeves. In this way a sort of national costume has been created, comparable to the so popular vala in Tonga.

In the social realm it is worth noting that polygamy among the Baganda, in contrast to conditions in the Tonga Archipelago, has not been entirely given up in its old form, though it has very much decreased and its years seem numbered. The Christian moral code, as on the South Sea Islands, is by no means strictly followed, and illegitimate children are likewise taken into the community without particular discrimination. The Baganda have also proved conservative to the extent that they cling, in their fashion, to their old classificatory kinship terms, like the Tongans. With regard to stages of life (marriage, birth, death) much that is old has been preserved and partly linked with new customs. Thus the traditional bride price among this people still plays a very important role, and to legalize a marriage this is more important, even for the most devout, than the church wedding. The customs surrounding the transfer of the bride to her husband have, however, been changed to a certain extent in keeping with the European-Christian conception.--Little seems to have changed in the customs associated with birth and the treatment of the newborn child. Yet here too, as in Tonga, practically every child receives the Christian baptism; the old customs of name-giving, which were once important among the Baganda, are being more and more ignored.-With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,